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the leadership of the Banū Maḥmashādh (see above). Here as elsewhere, the hold of the Karrāmiyya on the populace doubtless stemmed from the exemplary ascetism of their leaders' lives and their evangelistic and teaching activity; Abū Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh is said to have converted large numbers of *dhimmī*s and Zoroastrians by his trenchant preaching. Supported by the secular power, in the shape of patronage from the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty Sebüktigin and then from his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Karrāmiyya enjoyed a temporary ascendancy over their opponents in Nīshāpūr, comprising the Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, the ʿAlids and, as appears from the biography of the famous Shaykh Abū Saʿīd al-Mayhanī, the Ṣūfīs. They fell from power, however, after 402/1011-12, when Maḥmūd withdrew his patronage, but they nevertheless continued to be an appreciable element in the city. The local historian of Bayhaḳ, Ibn Funduḳ, and Ibn al-Athīr record civil strife in Nīshāpūr and Bayhaḳ during 488/1095 or 489/1096 between the local Karrāmiyya on one side and the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs on the other, and this ended in Nīshāpūr with the killing of the Karrāmī leader Maḥmashādh and the razing of their *madrasa* (see on all these events Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 289-90; C. E. Bosworth, *The rise of the Karamiyyah in Khurasan*, in *MW*, 1 (1960), 5-14; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 185-9; R. W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur, a study in medieval Islamic social history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, index).

The last stronghold of the Karrāmiyya was in Ghūr, the mountainous region of central Afghānistān, one not long converted to Islām. According to the historian of the Ghūrids, Djūzdjānī, the Ghūrid sultans Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 599/1202-3) and his brother Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1205-6 were originally adherents of the Karrāmiyya, in conformity with the beliefs of the masses of their subjects, but transferred their allegiance to the Shāfiʿī law school. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn's favour to the great Shāfiʿī scholar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who disputed in the Ghūrid capital Fīrūzkūh with the popular Karrāmī divine Ibn Ḳudwa, caused a popular uprising there, compelling Rāzī to return to Harāt. Rāzī's polemics with the Karrāmiyya are important evidence for this last phase of the sect's existence, and contain much information on Karrāmī theology. After the Mongol invasions, we hear nothing of the sect, which must have been submerged in the general holocaust in Khurāsān; when later authors like Ibn Taymiyya write against the Karrāmiyya, they are merely drawing on material in the older authorities (see Bosworth, *The early Islamic History of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 128-33, and A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam, la découverte de la capitale des sultans ghorides*, Paris 1959, 49-50).

Bibliography: largely given in the article. The most complete and sympathetic account of Ibn Karrām's thought is given in Massignon's *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], 260-8, 318-19; see also A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrinés . . . d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 81, 159; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, index; W. M. Watt, *Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, 79, 184; A. M. A. el-Galli, *The history and doctrines of the Karrāmiyya sect, with special reference to ar-Rāzī's criticism*, Edinburgh M. Litt. thesis 1970, unpublished; F. E. Peters, *Allah's commonwealth, a history of Islam in the Near East 600-1100 A.D.*, New York 1973, 426-7, 462-3. The older view of the Karrāmiyya as ignorant anthropomorphists is expressed in D. B. Macdonald, *The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory*, New York 1903, 170-2, 195, 291-2.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲARRĪ [see ḲERRĪ].

KARS, a garrison town and administrative centre in Eastern Turkey, situated on 40°37′ N. and 43°06′ E., *chef-lieu* of the *il* (province) of the same name, which is bounded by the U.S.S.R. and the *ils* of Artvin, Erzurum and Ağrī and contains the *ilçe*s (districts) of Posof, Hanak, Çıldır, Ardahan, Göle, Susuz, Arpaçay, Selim, Digor, Sarıkamiş, Kağızman, Tuzluca and Aralık, with that of Kars itself. In 1960 the population of the provinces of Kars was 543,000; in 1965 (provisional), 606,521, of which 20% was urban and 80% agricultural or rural (*Kars Il yıllığı* 1967, Ankara n.d.).

The etymologies suggested tentatively by Barthold (EI[1])—Georgian—and by Kırzıoğlu (*İA*)—Turkish—for Kars cannot be sustained. In mediaeval Armenian sources the forms Karuc (*Karuts*) or Karuc berd are encountered (A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, Cambridge Mass. 1969, index; N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, Lisbon 1970, 206). A 16th-century identification of "Chars" with the Chorsa of Ptolomey should perhaps be noted (G. T. Minadoi, *Historia de bello inter Turcas et Persas*, in P. Bizarus, *Rerum persicarum historia*, Frankfurt 1601, 516; cf., however, C. Müller (ed.), *Claudii Ptolomaei geographia*, Paris 1883-1901, i/1, 941 and n.). Byzantine usage (Τὸ Κάρς) is supplied by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. xliv; Muslim forms are Ḳars in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, x, 27; xii, 169, 295, 300, 306), Ḳarṣ or Ḳārṣ in Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 57), Ghars in al-Fāriḳī (quoted in V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 90-1) and in Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-Gushā* (ed. Mīrza Muḥammad), ii, 161. Ottoman usage favoured the form Ḳārṣ.

From Umayyad times the region of Kars lay on the frontiers of the Muslim world. The decline of Arab power after the middle of the 2nd/8th century gave more independence to Armenia under the Bagratid dynasty and early in the 3rd/9th century the Armenian prince Smbat (held hostage at Sāmarrāʾ from 190/806 to 210/825 and called Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳārisī by the Muslims) ruled over Kars as a vassal of the ʿAbbāsids (J. Laurent, *Arménie entre Byzance et Islam*, Paris 1919, 290-1 and n.; cf. the *De administr. imperio*, ii (*Commentary*), ed. R. H. J. Jenkins, London 1962, 158). In 222/837 Isḥāḳ, the amīr of Tiflīs, halted in the vicinity of Kars an army sent by the Byzantine emperor Theophilus as part of an unsuccessful attempt to detach Armenia from Muslim suzerainty (Laurent, *op. cit.*, 211-2).

The importance of Kars in the 4th/10th century derived in part from its situation on the important trade route Ānī-Kars-Ḳālīḳalā (= Erzurum) - Trebizond (Minorsky, *Studies*, 105): Kars shared with Ḳālīḳalā and Malātya the commerce of Armenia and, according to Aristakès of Lastivert (tr. and ed. E. Prud'homme, Paris, 1864, 89), its inhabitants "lived peacefully in the midst of riches of all kinds gathered together by land and sea". Under the ruler Abas (reigned 929-51 (*De adm. imp.*, ii, 179))—and not, as in *ibid.*, i, ch. xliv, under Ashot, who died in 890—Kars became the seat of the Bagratid dynasty. From

962 it served as the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Vanand, which was erected by the ruler of Ānī, Ashot III, for his younger brother Mushegh, and his successors (cf. *EI*[1], ĀNĪ).

By 1022 the kingdom of Vanand was surrounded on three sides by Byzantine territory (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 173); its last ruler, Gagik (1028-64), continued to hold his position even after Ānī had been incorporated into the Byzantine Empire (1044). In face of the Saldjūḳ threat—in 446/1054-5 Tughrïl Beg had destroyed the forces of Gagik and besieged Kars for three days (Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 181)—he was induced to renounce his rights voluntarily in favour of the Emperor Constantine X Ducas, receiving in return a town in the Cilician Taurus.

The early history of Kars as a Muslim town is confused. In 456/1064 its inhabitants appear to have submitted voluntarily to Alp Arslān (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27); ten years later, however, in 1074, King Giorgi II of Georgia received Kars from one of his vassals. In *ca.* 472-3/1080 he was attacked by a Turkish force under the amīr Aḥmad, who "shortly before" had conquered Kars; subsequently, for much of the 6th/12th century, Kars lay within the Ṣalṭūḳid amīrate (cf. Minorsky, Studies, 84, n. 1). In 548/1153 Kars was occupied and destroyed by the Ḳïpčaḳ Turks, but in the same year it was retaken by the Ṣalṭūḳid Mālik ʿIzz al-Dīn (cf. the Arabic inscription, commemorating the reconstruction of the citadel in that year, discovered by the Ottomans in the course of their own rebuilding in 987/1579. The text is provided by Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii (Istanbul, 1314), 330). During the mid-6th/12th century Kars also lay within the sphere of influence of the Shaddādid amīrs of Ānī: in Shaʿbān 556/August 1161 troops furnished by "the lord of Ghars and Surmari" assisted in an attempt by the Shaddādid amīr Faḍlūn b. Minučihr to regain his capital from the Georgian king Giorgi III (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 88-91, quoting al-Fāriḳī).

Kars remained in Muslim hands until 603/1206-7, when it was taken by the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 169). It was besieged in vain by the Khʷārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 623/1226; in 636-7/1239 it was occupied by the *noyon* Čormaghun and incorporated into the Mongol Empire. Hethum, king of Little Armenia, who visited Kars *ca.* 649/1251, found there the Mongol camp, from which Baydu governed the territories under his command. According to Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 93), at a later period Kars belonged, with Ānī, to the Īlkhānid province of Georgia (Gūrdjistān wa Abkhāz): it was described at this time as one of the chief towns of Georgia (Le Strange, 181).

In 759/1358 Kars passed to the Djalāyirids; and in 782/1380 to the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu. In 788/1386 the region of Kars, at that time under the local ruler Pirūzbakht, was devastated by Tīmūr and turned into a wilderness (cf. Sanjian, *op. cit.*, 152), while Kars itself, it is said, was levelled to the ground (cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, index). The years 796/1394, 802/1400 and 805/1403 again saw Tīmūr pass by Kars en route for summer pasture in the Bingöl area of Čïldïr, but soon after his death the Tīmūrid province of Ānī, within which Kars was situated, reverted to Ḳarā Ḳōyunlu control. The local ruler Pīr Ḥusayn b. Sahat is said by Armenian sources to have rebuilt and restored Kars in 815/1412; later, in 871-2/1467, Kars passed into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳōyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan.

Kars suffered much from the strife which accompanied the rise to power of the Ṣafawids: for example, in 920/1514, when the Ottoman sultan Selīm I encamped close by Kars on his return from the victorious Čaldirān campaign, the town was said to be once more in a ruinous condition.

By 940/1534 Kars was in Ottoman hands, and in 955/1548 the sultan Sulaymān I ordered work to be done on the fortifications. It was not until the renewal of the Ottoman-Ṣafawid conflict in the late 10th/16th century, however, that Kars fully came into its own as a fortress of vital strategic importance for the Ottoman state, as both a bastion against Ṣafawid incursions into north-eastern Anatolia, and a base forward of Erzurum from which the difficult task of keeping open the road to Tiflīs and holding the new Caucasian conquests could be supported.

In the opening campaign (Djumādā II 986/August 1578) of the long Ottoman-Ṣafawid struggle for the Caucasus, Kars was the scene of the first engagement —"una fiera scaramuzza"—between Ottoman forces under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, and those of the Ṣafawids (Cesare Campana, *Compendio historico, delle guerre . . . tra Christiani, & Turchi . . .*, Venice 1597, f. 20). On 2 Djumādā 'l-Akhir 987/27 July 1579 an Ottoman army under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha encamped at Kars, and proceeded rapidly, in the face of acute difficulties caused by a lack of suitable workmen and by the dense fogs and bitter cold which set in after 2 Radjab/25 August (Minadoi, *op. cit.*, 557), to fortify the town for use as a base from which to relieve Tiflīs (Campana, *op. cit.*, f. 25; Pečevi, *Taʾrīkh* ii (Istanbul 1281), 56; Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, 153-4. For the relevant European *Flugschriftenliteratur*, see C. Göllner, *Turcica* ii (Bucharest - Baden-Baden 1968), nos. 1706-1835, *passim*).

Under Ottoman rule Kars was raised (988/1580) to be the administrative centre of an *eyālet* of six or seven *sandjāḳs*. Ewliyā Čelebī, who visited Kars in 1057/1647, variously lists (*op. cit.*, i, 185, 192; ii, 329) the *sandjāḳs* and their revenues (for other statistical accounts of the revenues and divisions of the *eyālet* of Kars, dating from the mid 11th/17th century, and giving alternative readings, see P. Rycaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*[3], London 1670, 54, and J. von Hammer, *Osm. Staatsverfassung*, ii, 259). The town and its principal monuments at this time are described by Ewliyā Čelebī, *op. cit.*, ii, 329-33, which can be supplemented by J.-M. Thierry, *A propos de quelques monuments chrétiens du vilayet de Kars*, in *Revue des Études arméniennes*, n.s. iii (1966), 73-90, and by the several works of K. M. Fahrettin (= F. Kırzıoğlu). According to Ewliyā Čelebī, the Ottoman forces in Kars, together with those of Vān and Akhiskha, were renowned for their courage and bravery as borderers (*op. cit.*, ii, 331), and in the Ottoman chronicles of the 11th/17th century Kars figures prominently and frequently in the accounts of the wars with the Ṣafawids during this time.

European travellers to Kars were few before the 19th century. G. F. Gemelli-Carreri, who was there in May 1694, described Kars as a "large, but not populous city", with two walls of earth and a good garrison, which sent out forty horse every night to patrol the border with Ṣafawid territory (*A collection of voyages . . .*, iv, London 1704, 109).

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh, Kars was besieged several times (1735 twice; 1744) (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, *passim*; cf. also the despatches of Stanhope Aspinwall, London, Public Record Office, S. P. 97/32). By the end of the 18th century the *eyālet* of Kars had become one of the poorest in the Ottoman Empire, and was one of several provinces unable to provide sufficient revenue

to support a *wezīr*—*i.e.*, a pasha of three *ṭughs* (S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new* . . . , Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 168-9; cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale*², vii (Paris 1824), 306-7).

As part of the administrative reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* period, the *eyālet* of Kars was reduced to the status of a *sandjāḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Erzurum (cf. *Sāl-nāme* for 1292), but the military and strategic importance of the fortress itself was underlined once more by the Russian expansion southward through the Caucasus during the early 19th century. Kars was besieged successfully by Russian forces three times: in 1828, 1855 and 1877 (details and bibliography in W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge 1953). Kars at this time took on a considerable, if specious, significance for both British diplomacy and English public opinion, which regarded it as the "traditional bulwark against Russian expansion southwards" (B. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1880*, Oxford 1937, 516), and for the Russians themselves, as a war objective (*ibid.*, 623-4). By the terms of the abortive Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878) and article 56 of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878), the *sandjaḳs* of Kars and Ardahan, and the port of Batum, were ceded to Russia.

The number and composition of the inhabitants of town and province of Kars were seriously affected by the Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century and by the events of World War I. As early as 1828 the majority of the original Armenian population were said to have deserted Kars after the Russian evacuation, while in the years after 1877 a steady migration of Muslims into Ottoman territory was counterbalanced by the settlement of Armenians and Russians in Kars itself and by massive colonization of the vacated rural districts (the statistics in *Brokhaus-Yefron Entsik. Slovar'* (1895) *svv.* Kars', Karsskaya Oblast', were adapted by Barthold for the *EI*¹ version of this article).

Kars was the scene of fierce fighting in World War I. By the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) it was returned to the Ottoman Empire, but in fact remained in the hands of the Armenian nationalists until Turkish troops entered the town on 25 April 1918. Under the terms of the Mudros armistice (30 October 1918) the Turkish armies were obliged to withdraw to the west of the 1914 Russo-Turkish frontier. The Turks of Kars, however, established (6 November 1918) a provisional government under Fakhr al-Dīn Pīrīoghlu (Fahrettin Pirioğlu), which claimed suzerainty over the province of Kars and the surrounding Turkish-speaking or Muslim districts as far as Batum and Gümrü (Aleksandropol'). After a period of confused fighting against Armenian, Georgian and British units, the Turkish régime in Kars was overthrown by a British expedition from Batum (19 April 1919) and some of its leaders were deported to Malta. During May 1919 Kars reverted to Armenian control, while the local Turkish leaders who survived took the hills and began to look to the Kemalists for aid. With the British withdrawal from Transcaucasia, and the Turco-Soviet rapprochement (1920), the independent Transcaucasian republics were quickly liquidated, and with the rapid collapse of Armenia the Turkish XVth Army Unit under Kâzim Karabekir Pasha recaptured Kars on 30 October 1920. The *ḳaḍās* of Čīldīr and Posof (23 February 1921) and Ardahan (7 March 1921)—all nowadays within the *il* of Kars—also soon came under Turkish control.

By the Treaties of Gümrü (Aleksandropol') with the Armenian Republic (2 December 1920), of Moscow (March 1921) with the Soviet régime, and of Kars (13 October 1921) with the Soviet Armenian, Georgian and Adharbaydjānī republics, the present boundary between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. was established. By this time, after seven years of warfare and enforced migration, the non-Muslim population had disappeared, and the province and town of Kars had taken on their present ethnic characteristics.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text), Naʿimā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1147, *passim*; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte*¹ (repr. Graz 1964), i, 269, ii, 420, iv, 75, 358, 477, 619, v, 82, viii, 57. For recent Turkish works and the productions of local historiography see K. M. Fahrettin, *Kars Tarihi*, i (Istanbul 1953) and the same author's article *Kars* (*Tarih*) in *İA*. The numerous Russian and western works which deal with the military history of Kars in the 19th century are given by W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff in their work cited above. Cf. also for the events of 1914-21, H. Bayur, *Inkilab Tarihi*, Ankara 1943-67, and K. Karabekir, *Istiklal Harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960. (W. Barthold-[C. J. Heywood])

ḲARŞANA [see ḲURŞĀN]

ḲARSHI, word for "castle", already attested in ancient Turkish and Uygur (Turfan, the *Kutadghu Bilig*) and perhaps connected with "Kerdjiye" in Tokharian B. It was later adopted with this meaning by the Mongols. The town of Nakhshab, or Nasaf [*q.v.*], was called Ḳarshi after a castle built two parasangs from the town by the Čaghatay ruler Kebek Khān (1318-26). The stream which flows through the steppes was called Ḳarshi-daryā. The town is mentioned in Bābur's [*q.v.*] memoirs and a popular etymology of the name exists. The town was formerly an important trade-centre with more than a thousand houses, sixteen mosques, three caravanserais and twelve *madrasas*; it produced carpets, saddles, bronze wares and later tobacco.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāme*, ed. M. Iládád, i, Calcutta 1885, iii; G. Le Strange, 470 ff.; R. Rahmeti Arat, in *İA*, s.v. (B. Spuler)

KARSHŪNĪ, name of the Syriac script used by the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia for writing Arabic. The origin of the word is obscure, and neither the place nor date of its first appearance is known. None of the etymologies which have been proposed seems tenable, but it does seem that the original Syriac form of the word was *garshūnī* and that since the Arabic alphabet had no letter corresponding to the Syriac *gomal*, it was transcribed with an initial *kāf*. Since the Arabic alphabet has 28 characters and the Syriac one only 22, each of the following Syriac letters was used to transcribe two Arabic characters: *taw* = *tāʾ* and *thāʾ*; *gomal* = *djīm* and *ghayn*; *koph* = *kāf* and *khāʾ*; *dolath* = *dāl* and *dhāl*; *ṭeth* = *ṭāʾ* and *ẓāʾ*; and *ṣodhe* = *ṣād* and *ḍād*. In order to avoid confusion, certain of these characters could be written with a superscript or subscript point, but usage here was not constant. From the 10th century A.D. till the present day, all the Syrian Christians, whether western or eastern, Maronite, Jacobite or Nestorian, have used this writing system, although it seems that the Melkites have never employed it. In India, the name Karshūnī is also applied to the Syriac script used for writing Malayalam, the vernacular language of the Malabar Christians.

Bibliography: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, Oxford 1868, i, 790; R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, Paris 1881, 11; C. J. David, *Grammaire de la langue araméenne*, Mosul 1896,